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ABSTRACT

This report is a synopsis of a study that dealt with the dominant problem in Yugoslavian society, namely the phenomenon of social and economic crisis, and with the role of adult education within the disintegration processes. In addition to an introduction, the report consists of five sections concerning the following issues: (1) the country in a state of crisis, (2) the problem of multiculturism in Yugoslavia, (3) an analysis of the societal roles of adult education, (4) a description of adult education in Yugoslavia, and (5) an evaluation of the functional effectiveness of the adult education system in relation to the problem of disintegration. Concluding remarks summarize the problem, raise new questions for further studies, and provide an attempt to apply (neo-)Marxist theory in relation to the situation in a country with a Marxistic ideology. Appendixes include tables of Yugoslavia's national composition and a questionnaire used to gather information for the report. (YLB)

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S u m m a r y

This report constitutes a synopsis of a research project entitled "The Role of Adult Education in a Multi-Cultural Society. The Case of Yugoslavia". The study deals with the dominant problem in Yugoslavian society, namely the phenomenon of social and economic crisis, and with the role of adult education within the disintegration processes.

The report consists of five sections which concern the following issues: (1) the country in a state of crisis, (2) the problem of multi-culturism in Yugoslavia, (3) an analysis of the societal roles of adult education, (4) a description of adult education in Yugoslavia, (5) an evaluation of the functional effectiveness of adult education system in relation to the problem of disintegration. Concluding remarks summarise the problem, raise new questions for further studies as well as provide an attempt to apply (neo)-Marxist theory in relation to the situation in a country with a Marxistic ideology.

Among the many factors affecting the introduction and development of (adult) education system in Yugoslav case, the most important are cultural and demographic in nature as well as socio-political and socio-economic. In the current constitutional setting, what is centripetal at the republican/provincial level is centrifugal at the level of the State.

The degree of success of adult education, operating as one element in the entire educational system of a given country, at surmounting barriers between people of different nationalities living in Yugoslavia is the subject of this report.

Preface

This report constitutes a synopsis of a research project entitled "The Role of Adult Education in a Multi-Cultural Society. The Case of Yugoslavia" which is being carried out at the Department of Education, University of Uppsala. The project is supported by a grant from the Swedish Council for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities.

While working on the project it became apparent that writing a report would require an interdisciplinary approach using more than just pedagogical ways of explaining social phenomena. Thus I decided to present an overview of the project to a wider public. It is my hope to receive the reactions and suggestions from various types of specialists, especially from sociologists and political scientists. Their methodologies and theoretical frameworks might help in my attempt to elucidate educational problems from different points of view.

This study deals with the dominant problem of the 1980's in Yugoslavian society, namely the phenomenon of economic and social disintegration. Although the conclusions of this study are rather negative it was not my intention to provide such an impression.

It is also necessary to mention here that Chapter 6 "The Dysfunctionalities in Adult Education Provisions" is focused on negative aspects of Yugoslav adult education. The chapter should not be taken as inferring that nothing at all is functioning in this country. A many-sided description of the system of adult education in Yugoslavia will be presented in the Final Report for the project.

During the various stages of work on this report I have received help and critical comments from numerous specialists, including educationist Urban Dahllöf, sociologist Kjell Magnusson and historian Tekeste Negash. They devoted much of their time to reading successive draft versions of the report and contributed to the improvement of the text. For their hard work and valuable support I send my warmest THANKS!

Uppsala, December 1985

Michal Bron Jr

M O T T O:

B a l k a n i z e: to break up into small, mutually hostile political units; B a l k a n i z a t i o n

Webster's New World Dictionary
of the American Language

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1. INTRODUCTION

The issue discussed here is the role and place of adult education within the (dis)integration processes in Yugoslavia. The problem of social integration and disintegration is usually analysed from political, economic or nationality points of view and equally concerns Yugoslavian as well as foreign literature. In recent years, research interests have turned towards analysing the anatomy and functioning of the State (i.e. Federal) organism. It is characteristic, however, that educational problems have been almost completely neglected. This report tries to elucidate some of the problems related to education.

Social integration is taken here to mean a unification and concordance of elements of the social community, i.e. Federal Yugoslavia. It (a) implies an acceptance of common values and norms, and parallelly (b) can be measured in terms of the intensity and frequency of contacts between members of this community. An important factor in social integration is a unity of interests, shared values and similarities in life styles between community members. Social disintegration is an extreme form of social disorganisation characterized by atrophy of contacts, breaking off of social links, and decay in norms and values.

The factors of social, political and economic life which contribute to unity and encourage co-operation between elements of the State, will here be called "centripetal forces"; those factors of the opposite character have been termed "centrifugal forces". The term adult education used in the report relates to a complex of different educational provisions for adults as well formal as non-formal. It is important to keep in mind that adult education does not only mean vocational training of adults; it is a much broader (and deaper) activity than just providing industrial skills and knowledge. Through l e a r n i n g processes, it is hoped that an individual can develop his or her own attitudes and values. It is equally important to know that in Yugoslavia, even purely vocational courses comprise elements of general knowledge in their curricula, i.e. facts about the socio-political and economic system of the country.

The report consists of five sections which concern the following issues: (1) the country in a state of crisis, (2) the problem of multi-culturism in Yugoslavia, (3) an analysis of the societal roles of adult education, (4) a description of adult education in Yugoslavia, and, finally, (5) an evaluation of the functional effectiveness

of adult education system in relation to the problem of (dis)integration. Concluding remarks summarise the problem and raise new questions for further studies, as well as provide an attempt of presenting an explanatory theory.

The report's analysis and descriptions are based mainly on three kinds of sources: (a) my own studies on adult education history, development and current provisions in Yugoslavia undertaken during the last ten years, (b) proceedings of the 1983 Conference of the Yugoslav Association of Sociology which was devoted to integration and disintegration processes in Yugoslav society, and (c) interviews received in November 1984 from adult educationists, sociologists, politicians, school administrators and adult educators. The interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the sensitiveness of the problems discussed and the current political climate of Yugoslavia I have decided to omit all names while quoting interviewees. In refering to them I describe their profession, position and "republican" origin. The list of interviewed persons is presented in References B. (p. 56).

The positions presented in the report are of an analytical and normative nature. It is commonly assumed that the social sciences can contribute to policy-making processes, but, in most cases, this contribution is only modest. What are the obstacles that prevent this contribution from being more effective? Can the educational system as a whole play a significant role in this contribution? And what role can adult education play in it? Do governmental services meet society's demands in terms of adult education? These are some of the many questions which were and are currently being discussed, but not yet fully answered. Obviously, there are no standard answers to these questions. Neither it is my intention to formulate my own answers to all of them. Naturally, it is not just me who has taken a normative approach. It derives from the problem itself and from the way it is reflected in Yugoslavian sources, from the general political situation and, last but not least, from the language (rather: phraseology) of the country under study.

The formulation of an answer to the leading question, i.e. what is and what should be the role of adult education in a multi-cultural society, depends not only on the knowledge a given researcher possesses but also on the avowed system of values and on the represented scientific disciplines. The views on societal roles of /adult/ education (normative

and real) will differ among /adult/ educationists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists. Their concept of these roles depends on their own political values and political temperament. It is not my intention to classify myself into one particular school or methodology. I do hope, however, that my understanding of societal roles of adult education corroborates with that of other scholars and findings of their research.

It is, however, commonly accepted, that every system of education is shaped by definite factors. It is determined, first of all, by the social system of the country, its cultural traditions, and the level of its economic development. The educational system is unquestionably also conditioned by the social demand for education and by its demographic composition. It happens that Yugoslavia is characterized by many cultural, economic, social and geographical differences, all of which influence educational policy and the role of education in particular communities and regions.

Thus it is necessary to analyse this phenomenon and its relations within the given culture (or rather the complex of cultures) and a given social order. Twenty years ago the Norwegian educationist Rand stressed the value and necessity of systematic studies of interactions between the system of education and the sociological characteristics of a given society. For Rand this was a condition for understanding the system and for evaluating it (Rand 1964/1971). Similarly Dahllöf has emphasized that comparative studies "presuppose descriptions not only of the educational system itself but also of its social context and historical background" (1977a:61).

Despite many failures and unfulfilled expectations education is still an important tool used to spread the social and economic policy of the State. It is still believed that education, in all its forms, kinds and levels, might contribute to social cohesion, economic development and international understanding. Twenty years ago, Kazamias and Massialas wrote that "in almost all the societies under consideration, periods of national crises and overhelming events have been followed by attempts at major educational reorganization" (1965:169). The political and social conditions of the recent educational reforms in, e.g. Poland or Yugoslavia, indicate that this belief in "salvation" through education is still current.

Educational policy has proven to be a necessary complement to political unity. This is true not only at the international level, i.e. in relations between two or more States, but also at the level of a single multi-cultural (multi-ethnic) country. Such different States as the Soviet Union, Singapore, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Tanzania are all characterized by their attempts to spread a uniform core of values in culturally diversified societies. Education remains one of two main channels for spreading these values. The second channel is propaganda via the mass-media.

It is important to recognize this function of education while studying a country with a highly decentralised administrative apparatus, great heterogenity in the levels of regional economic development and extremely different cultural and national backgrounds of its educational subsystems. Among the many factors affecting the introduction and development of educational systems in the Yugoslav case, the most important are cultural and demographic in nature as well as socio-political and socio-economic. In the current constitutional setting, what is centripetal at the republican level is centrifugal at the level of the State. My interests are focused on the macro, i.e. the federal, level. This approach is the theoretical and analytical background of the study. Thus, it is also the point of departure for my opinions and comments on the state of affaires regarding adult education in Yugoslavia.

The degree of success of adult education,operating as one element in the entire educational system of a given country, at surmounting barriers between people of different nationalities living in Yugoslavia is the subject of this report.

2. THE COUNTRY IN A STATE OF CRISIS. SOCIOLOGISTS' POSITIONS

The following analysis is based on the proceedings of the XIth Conference of the Yugoslav Association of Sociology organized in Portorož in November 1983 and on the interviews with sociologists made in November 1984. Papers presented at the Conference or specially written for it were published in a separate book entitled "Integration and Disintegration Processes in Yugoslav Society" (Integracioni...1983) and in two issues of the quarterly "Sociologija" (vol.XXV 1983 No 3 and vol.XXVI 1984 Nos.1-2). Although the most dogmatic among sociologists boycotted the meeting (e.g. Stipe Šuvar from Zagreb or Danilo Marković from Belgrad), many individuals representing different sociological schools of thought and with different political temperament were present.

The analysed book and journals contain only papers delivered at the Conference. Unfortunately, due to political restrictions and economic limitations the proceedings did not include any discussion based on the papers. In my review I am trying to answer the question: What are the factors contributing to the integration (or disintegration) processes in Yugoslav society? Answers provided by the Conference participants differed markedly and sometimes were contradictory. It shows, of course, how complicated the situation is. I was, naturally, most interested to see how sociologists perceive education and its role in these processes. It is worthwhile to say here that only one paper discussed the role of education and only two other speakers "touched" on this problem. Another factor, namely foreign policy and the international situation, which certainly affacts integration, was also absent from the Conference discussion [1/].

The Conference proceedings opens with 22 "positions" (called: theses) which, presumably, present the consensus of the sociologists gathered in Portorož. Thesis 1 defines "Integration": "Integration (a term borrowed from the organic world) refers to the harmonious co-operation of all elements of a given social system" (Integracioni...1983:8). It is also stressed that the level of voluntariness and compulsion in the integrated system influences its disintegrative forces.

Although some theses are quite obvious, it is important to remember where and when they were formulated. It concerns, for example, the Thesis 6 which states that: "Integration can be reached by either democratic or supressive means. In the first case the agreement and free choice of the participants are dominating, in the second one - compulsion and imposition of decisions dominate. The choice of the means usually determines the character and the fate of the integration achieved" (Integracioni...1983:9).

According to Županov (Jerovšek & Županov 1983), one of the most important prerequisities for integration is "inter-dependence" which is necessary for the successful co-ordination of specialized "units" into the federal whole. These "units" include: (a) common objectives, ideals and dogma, (b) market, habits, social compulsion, (c) legislation, (d) administrators. The leading role is attributed by Županov to commonly shared objectives (cf. Drucher's "management by objective"). The author reminds us about the sociological principle which states that even highly diversified groups, co-operating in achieving a common goal, do not need an extended co-ordinating superstructure. Županov uses the Roman-Catholic Church as an example of large organization with relatively limited controlling and supervising personnel (1983:113).

Is co-operation at the level of objectives, ideals and dogma actually exercised? Opinions on this differ: although Rupel (1983:258) bitterly states that social integration in Yugoslavia applies only to the army and to political beliefs, others questioned that it even existed there. Popovič (1983:53), for example, stresses that the process of social disintegration takes place in spite of political declarations and nicely phrased ideological principles such as "united League of Communists", "brotherhood and unity", or "unified Yugoslav market", etc.

At the de iure level one can agree with Avramovič (1983:532), that the political system of Yugoslavia is the most important agent of social integration. The system constitutes the following elements: the League of Communists, a system of delegation, a division of competence, hierarchy and responsibility.

No one questions the leading role of the party. However, at the de facto level it would be interesting to know why so many recommendations and laws are not implemented although communists take part in all decision-

making processes and are present in all executive organs.

The same authors (Avramović 1983:534) asked the following question: "To what extent is it possible to reach a unity of attitudes and opinions under the conditions of social, economic and national pluralism?"

We can add a new kind of pluralism to his list, namely "bureaucratic pluralism". In Yugoslavia five large organisations participate in policy making and decision-making concerning the same problems (i.e. the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Trade Unions, the Socialist Union of Youth, and the Veterans' Union). This five-grade structure exists at all levels of the State administration, i.e. federal, republican/provincial and communal.

The unquestioned position of the party has led to a situation were some sociologists have brought accusations against the League. Goati (1983: 143), for example, presented official statistical figures to convincingly argue that the League is entirely responsible for the current situation of the country and society, since no other organisation has such an exclusive and powerful position at all levels of power [2].

Other sociologists tended to stress the integrative function of the party (cf. Stojanović 1983). It is not clear, however, if their true analyses can relate to the federal level as they perfectly concern the republican/provincial levels (so called "party etatism") [3].

One of the most critical opinions was formulated by Kuvačić (1983:39), who went so far as to say that "official ideology is of only ritual importance today; it is needed as a link with the revolutionary past, but is completely useless for articulating current events".

An interesting conclusion arrived at in many of the papers is the basis of Thesis 14 (Integracioni...1983:13) which emphasises the important role of ideology in (dis)integration processes.

The second most important agent of (dis)integration processes in Yugoslavia is its legislative system.

The last Constitution (1974) equalizes in fact the legal and political status of the autonomous provinces with federal republics. The subordinate links between Kosovo, Vojvodina and Serbia are very declarative. Importantly, both provinces are constitutive elements of the Federation.

It is hard to disagree with Stojanovič (1983:379), who underlines that the federal State cannot effectively function under the hypertrophic principle of consensus in all areas. As Šešelj (1983:368) stresses, the consensus principle leads to a situation in which even the most vital problems of the country last endlessly. It is evident, according to Šešelj, that we are now witnessing the rivalries between the republican/provincial bureaucratic structures, not between nations living there. In this sense the equality between nations was reduced to equality between state authorities.

This dismemberment of state unity and power is even more surprising when we consider the tendency of our times towards unification of legislation at the cross-national (and cross-continental) level.

The Yugoslav legislative system has partitioned not only political authority but also economic authority. One of the most important pieces of legislation is the Law on Associated Labour issued in 1976. It elaborated institutional arragements whereby workers were to run their enterprises. This legislation divisionalized Yugoslav industrial plants, municipal and State administration and the whole third sector. This extensive particularization reduced the efficiency of the productive works and services.

As Popovič (1983:54) stresses, this Law contributed significantly to the enforcement of disintegration processes through the entire federation [4/]. Independent and self-standing workshops of industrial manufactures or sections of non-productive institutions constitute the legal and economic essence of the decay of the Yugoslav economy in the last decade. It is obvious to Popovič and others, that the process of atomization and disintegration of the Yugoslav economy is the logical result of the Law on Associated Labour.

Although there is no doubt that this Law contributed to disintegration processes, I do not think that we should blaim this particular piece of legislation for every problem. The process of economic disintegration began earlier than 1976. The declining Yugoslav market and the trend towards republican/provincial autarchy is far older. Goati (1983:142) presents interesting figures showing this process. In 1970, 59.6 per cent of Yugoslav trade (goods and services) was realized within the republican/provincial borders, while 27.7 per cent resulted from co-

operation between republics/provinces. Ten years later the figures were 69.0 and 21.7 per cent respectively.

Disintegration of the economy has had multiple effects; one of them is pointed out in the Thesis 19 (Integracioni...1983:12). It is stated there that a trend towards the locking up of regional economies led to cultural separation. This, in turn, resulted in mythologisation of the national culture and history which has had injurious effects on integrative processes. I might add that this negative tendency is effectively strenghthened by the divided school system.

I would now like to descrébe how the problems of disintegration are perceived by the interviewees. It is hard to estimate how representative these opinions are; nevertheless, it is worthwhile to present the positions of three interviewed sociologists. They represent three different nationalities, generations and research centres. They also represent three different political temperaments and visions of the country.

A Serbian sociologist enumerated the agents which integrate or might contribute to integration of the society:

- Belonging to a community of Slavic people since Slavic languages (first of all Serbo-Croatian) are the means of communication. This community does not, however, include Hungarians, Albanians and other non-Slavic national minorities who live relatively isolated in their own compact communities.
- The unity of the political system at the national level is also an integrative factor.
- Despite recent confederalization, Yugoslavia is still, in many ways, centralized. There is one party and a unique fiscal system. Foreign policy, the army and foreign trade are also centralised and act as unifying forces.
- The mass-culture and mass-consumption society contributes significantly towards integration, although it is a kind of "repressive unification", i.e. "people could not escape it". On the other hand, it is seen as a phenomenon of waning of the rural society, which was the last defender of cultural and linguistic identity in many communities. Now, urban culture dominates and people are consuption-oriented.
- Army and police are also strong integrative factors, although of purely repressive character [5/].
- And lastly: "The quite unique position of Yugoslavia in the world

politics does integrate us". It is, of course, a kind of psychological integration which "we should cultivate carefully".

An interesting and different oponion on the problem of the divide et impera principle is represented by that of a Croatian sociologist. He agrees with this supposition and stresses that it is a quite typical phenomenon present in socialist countries. When somebody cannot or will not identify himself with the political order (one-party system), then he/she is likely to turn towards national identification. Very often it is closely related to religious identification. Thus, it is obvious that nationalism in Yugoslavia is "a direct product of bureaucratisation of social life". To some extent this growth of national feelings is rational. When the system of values proposed by the ruling ideology is not accepted, then one tends to build his own value system or searches for another outside the official one. The easiest way to accomplish this is to draw from the past of one's own nation.

Yet another position is taken by a Slovenian sociologist. His ideas on integration - its processes in general and the need for it in particular - differ greatly from the ideas of others. First of all he strongly advocates a "mosaic society" in all aspects of social and political life. He even opposes certain kinds of co-operation and common action, e.g. within religious life. As he states expressis verbis: "I do not believe in ecumenism and have never noticed any trend towards in in Yugoslavia [6/]. I do not see any need for it, nor for cultural fusion". The most important dimension of integration should be, according to him, professional culture. "But since (1) we in Yugoslavia have only political integration and economic and cultural disintegration; (2) professional ethics are not stresses as important factors of social integration, and (3) social science organizations, i.e. those which can contribute mostly to integration of society, are weak -- we cannot expect any substantial changes in the near future".

3. THE PROBLEM OF MULTI-CULTURISM

The problem of multi-culturism is a rather new area of interest in the field of adult education and general education. This field of inquiry requires the use of sociological, anthropological and political science literature.

It is important to distinguish between two different problems quite often confused in modern sociological literature: the problems of multi-culturism and cultural pluralism. According to Bolton (1979), the concept of cultural pluralism is "seen as a system that accepts that people's values and life styles are different, and works in such a way to allow equal opportunity for all to play a full part in society" (after: Verma 1982:107). The notion of multi-culturism regers to the phenomenon where "each ethnic group has the opportunity to develop and retain its distinct culture and traditions within the framework of the larger society" (Verma 1982:107).

The problem, however, is to determine the extent to which each ethnic group can live separately without menacing the unity of the State. In such countries as Switzerland, Belgium and Great Britain and in some modern black African coutries "there are structurally separate communities, typically with a relatively settled history covering a long period, which together constitute one country... These societies are best described as 'plural' and it may be assumed that each community is responsible for its own educational and perhaps political institutions..." (Taft 1982:3).

This is also the case of Yugoslavia. As McDonald (1973:2) writes: "Although the South Slavs had been incorporated into a single political unit with little change in its borders for more than half a century, the tendency among the various groups to emphasize their own special characteristics and regional interests continued to hamper this government, as it had previous governments, in their efforts to develop a spirit of national unity".

A similar opinion is represented by Singleton & Carter (1982:50): "It is impossible to speak of a 'typical Yugoslavia', even after over 35 years of development under the same regime, and of 20 years before that under the monarchy... The only common symbols of national unity were

Vidovdan Constitution, the monarch and a vague feeling of common cultural identity stemming from the Yugoslav movement of the 19th century. Both the constitution and the monarch symbolised Serbian hegemony to large sections of the population, and the vague Yugoslav or 'Illyrian' sentiments which affected some liberal thinkers overlain by much stronger feelings of Serb, Croat, Slovene or even Macedonian loyalties. Any cultural affinities which may have affected the South Slav speakers would make no appeal, of course, to the two million non-Slavs -- Germans, Magyars, Albanians, Romanians, Turks,etc. - who found themselves by the accident of history within a South Slav state".

Due to its great cultural and ethnic heterogenity and economic discrepancies state policy should favour developments which are conducive to communication, co-operation and understanding between nationalities. The understanding of this process of community-building is based on the definition of the "community" formulated by Deutsch (1966:78): "Community may be defined as a grouping of people who have learned to communicate and co-operate with each other and to understand each other beyond the normal interchange of goods and services".

It is interesting to see how Yugoslavs themselves perceive the problem. To avoid the expression a "national minority" which may imply inferior national rights, the term "nationality" [7/] has been introduced in Yugoslav political and legal terminology. "It is intended that the terms nations and nationalities should demonstrate the difference between a concentrated national grouping, resident wholly, or mainly, in Yugoslavia, and a group which resides mainly in a neighbouring nation or some other country" (Majstorovič 1980:17). The term "national minority", as Majstorovič explained, has been rejected, as it offers a quantitative, and not a qualitative definition, and may mean that a minority has less rights.

This very formal distinction leads to a strange conclusion. An analysis of national structure, for example, shows that some "nationalities" (e.g. Albanian) are more numerous than some of the "nations" (Macedonians, Montenegrins). According to population census of 1981, 82.5 per cent of the population belong to the various "nations", 12.1 per cent are members of "nationalities" and ethnic groups, and 5.4 per cent are "nationally indeterminate" [8/] (Statistički godišnjak 1984). More figures, including the distribution of "nationalities" and ethnic groups within

the entire population and according to particular republics and provinces are shown in the Tables 1,2 and 3 in Appendix 1.

The party establishment and the federal government, aware of the threat arising from multi-culturism have stressed that "multi-nationality is a constituent element of Yugoslav community, and national equality the condition sine qua non of its survival and development. The entire political, legal and cultural organisation of society is governed by the principle of equality of all nations and all cultures" (Majstorovič 1980:49) [9]. Authorities are also trying to minimize the gravity of existing ethnic tensions. The uneven state of economic development existing between the republics and provinces is recognised as a main factor which has been "creating difficulties and occasional disruptions in relations among nations, and giving rise to occasional misunderstanding and tentions" (Majstorovič 1980:47).

One of the most surprising official statement concerning the state policy towards multi-culturism deals with the problem of factor for integrity of the whole society. According to recently quoted publication (Majstorovič 1980:45) "Yugoslavia is organised as a multi-national country, and not as a centralised state in which the same statehood would be of greater importance that the fact that one belongs to a particular nation".

This approach was derived directly from Tito. Tito´s goal for Yugoslavia was what he termed "social integration" rather than ethnic integration. " He defined 'social integration' as a new type of social community in which all of the country´s nationalities would find common interests. The intent was not to weaken the various cultures but to enrich them" (McDonald 1973:270). As Matvejevič (1984:164) quotes Tito´s words from 1963: "It is not the case of 'integration of nations' but a problem of development of 'unified Yugoslav socialist consciousness'".

One of the first concepts to be treated when discussing the issue of statehood identity in multi-cultural Yugoslavia is the declaration "I am Yugoslav". As with many issues this is a very sensitive one in Yugoslavia, especially for non-Slavs. It is still hot memory of Serbian dominance in pre-war Yugoslavia (especially after 1929 coup d´êtat and constraint drive towards "Yugoslavism") and of political, religious, and national dimensions of the World War II in Yugoslavia, which had a character of a civil war.

Although "Yugoslavs" do not exist as a nation, nationality or ethnic group, there is a visible trend for growing numbers of individuals to declare themselves as "Yugoslavs" in national censuses (officially they are "nationally undeterminated"). Magnusson (1982a) characterised those individuals as young, educated persons, living in towns who tend towards "Yugoslavianism".

According to a young Croatian sociologist there are three dominant groups among the 1 219 000 "Yugoslavs" (i.e. 5.4 per cent of the total population). These groups include (1) members of minority nations living in other republics, (2) children of nationally mixed marriages, and (3) "internationally" oriented youth. He also points out that "Yugoslavs" not only include offsprings of mixed marriages, but also include those who are living in ethnically mixed communities, e.g. Serbs in Croatia.

A Serbian sociologist, on the other hand, sees the reason of growing numbers of "Yugoslavs" as due to the following phenomena: (1) a fear of constant struggle drove many towards "Yugoslav feeling", (2) migration "damages local identity and presses to accept broader community than your own", (3) offsprings of ethnically mixed marriages are on the rise, (4) a response to the local bureaucracy pressing towards national determination. As he emphasizes, there is a visibly instrumental approach to nationalism (divide et impera principle) and it is politically manipulated. The reaction against it is "to escape a destiny of being labeled as nationalist or separatist".

There are two other groups whose numbers among "Yugoslavs" are significant, namely army officers and specialists stationed in or moving between different republics/provinces. These people and their families, especially children, have the opportunity to get acquainted with other nations and cultures (Slovenian adult educationist, Croatian educationist and sociologist).

To be a "Yugoslav" does not only mean that one bears a burden of the past, it also causes immediate problems. As a Serbian sociologist points out, these persons who declare themselves as "Yugoslavs" are discriminated against in a public life. Since the "Yugoslavs" do not possess national status they do not have their own national representatives and cannot hold certain official positions (e.g. ambassadors) which are distributed according to the nation-key principle [10/].

Magnusson (1982a) discussing the problems of "Yugoslavs", mentions two contradictory opinions, one welcomes this phenomenon as a sign of progress, the other rejects it as "unscientific" and even "un-Marxist" (cf also Indjich 1983). Contradictory opinions regarding this phenomenon were also prevalent among the interviewees. It is worthwhile presenting here the positions of two leading Yugoslav sociologists:

- A Slovenian specialist remarked that "it is good that they have opportunity to say that they are 'Yugoslavs'. But it is very bad to be satisfied with this solution. It is concerned with political identity, but not with ethnic one... 'Yugoslavs' is a negative phenomenon; it is a residual category; it is escapism!"

- According to a Croatian specialist, however, the trend towards "Yugoslavism" is a necessity in modern Yugoslavia. He pointed out the benefits gained through the development of German identity (from confederations of Bavarians, Prussians, Saxons, etc., through Bismarck´s nation-building policy to modern German identity) and to "melting-pot" policy of the USA. He also ventured another reason to be satisfied with the discussed problem, namely a readiness to dispense with nationalistic attitudes and the sanguinary past.

Although I personally sympathize with the Croatian sociologist´s position I must, however, admit that the following argumentation presented by a Slovenian interviewee is very reasonable. By declaring to be "Yugoslav" does not infer that the given person has a well-developed statehood identity, or as he calls it - citizenship identification. The problem is that "we are not citizens; the citizenship is not a part of our personality (with the exception of Serbs, perhaps)... Citizenship does not exist as a cultural dimension in the Balkans". Moreover, "for some decades now we have been suggesting that the State disappears, i.e. we do not cultivate citizenship in this country. It is one of the heaviest lack in the political culture" [11].

It is interesting to note here that adult education, which has the potential to contribute to the development of such a political culture (through disseminating relevant knowledge and organizing gatherings) is neglecting this issue in its programmes and activities.

Despite the policy intentions and long-range goals of the federal government the growing nationalism in some of the republics is cause for continuing concern. The situation in adult education reflects this concern.

4. THE SOCIETAL ROLES OF ADULT EDUCATION

Changes in ideology and social structure, in the patterns of behaviour and work, and in the system of leisure which have occurred since World War II have modified the goals and functions of adult education. Growth in educational provisions in the 1960§ and 1970´s did not secure the fulfillment of the main goal, the democratisation of education. This is mirrored in the effective exclusion of significant sectors of the population from the educational systems, the wide differences in educational achievement and in the permanent social problems which have ensued.

The educational crisis was primarily due to the divergence between society´s expectations and the actual results of the school systems. Educational reforms undertaken after 1945 which were designed to meet those expectations did not solve many of the difficulties. In the 1970´s, following the diagnosis of the International Commission for Educational Development (the so-called Faure Commission), some societies began, for the first time, to reject a significant part of that which had been produced by traditional institutionalised education (Faure 1972). Instead, more attention was given to the further development of adult education.

Above all, politicians appreciated the role and significance of adult education in solving conflicts. The national reports to the Third International Conference of Adult Education (Tokyo 1972) underlined that one function of adult education in the area of general social goals is to anticipate and minimise political and social conflicts, especially when the demands and aspirations of particular social groups clashed with governmental goals and policy (cf Lowe 1975).

In a recent study Fägerlind & Saha (1983) pointed out some of the leading tasks of education. "As a conserver of the political system, and a contributor to political development, education has been regarded as serving three main functions: (1) as the main agent for the political socialization of the young into the national political culture, (2) as the primary agent for the selection and training of political elites, and (3) as the main contributor to political integration and the building of national political consciousness" (p.120).

Adult education is closely connected with people's lives and work; it can improve one's material existence, overcome social evils, form the basis for a better life. It can also neutralize conflicts between nationalities and individuals.

As Adams & Farrell (1969/1975:183) emphasized, educational systems seek to transmit a body of culture by the superordinate system, i.e. society. Education, then contributes to the process of socialisation and certification of individuals for new roles. Both authors have outlined two principles underlying the development of national educational systems:

- as the "body of culture" becomes larger and more complex, specialised entities for the transmission of portions of it are established,
- as the roles within the society become more specialised and differentiated, specialised entities for their preparations are established.

These two principles formed the background of adult education's development and specialisation in the 1960's and 1970's. At the same time, education became increasingly the basis for occupational selection and the channel for social mobility. Thus, educational status became more closely related to economic, occupational and social status. Governments, aware of this relationship, have endeavored in various instances to effect certain social and economic changes through the use of education. East European countries in the 1950's and Tanzania in the 1970's provide examples. The goals of achieving a socialist society have been served by education, especially adult education (cf Krajnc 1973, Fägerlind & Saha 1983).

Education is also a factor affecting the social, political and cultural integration of society. At the same time it also enhances individual development which was one of the educational goals formulated by philosophers and educationists. These goals are not, however, always included in documents presenting educational policy of a given State. In such documents we often find three main goals of state educational policy: (1) to develop an educational system which can serve the ruling ideology, (2) to give equal access to education for all citizens, and (3) to fulfill labour market needs for qualified manpower.

The decision-making body determing educational goals varies depending on the political system. In democratic societies they are parliaments,

in the countries of "real socialism" - ruling parties, in dictatorships - individuals.

One can agree with Krajnc (1973), who writes that there are intense and indissoluble relationships between the value that State places on education and the value that society and individuals within the society will place on it. The importance of education in social advancement also varies within any given society, and even within societal groups. "In some societies education is available as the only means of social advancement... but this is not always the case. There are wide variations in the cultural, economic, social and political significance that educational achievement has.North America very strongly stresses the economic rewards of education... In East Europe the rewards are still primarily cultural one" (Krajnc 1973:2).

One of the possible, and probably, explanations of the phenomenon, so common in all countries of East Europe regardless of their cultural differences, is the fact that education there is strictly related to the political history of the Region and to current ideological regimes. One has to remember that it was only during the second part of 19th century that Romania and Bulgaria gained partial independence as States; Hungary obtained autonomy within the Habsburg Empire; Poland was still partitioned by its neighbours (Russia, Prussia, Austria); Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia first came into existence in 1918. East Europe was a territory torn apart by permanent struggles and wars, which destroyed people, natural resources, agriculture and incipient industry.

It is also important to know, as Krajnc (1973) stresses, that the post-war period in all East European countries brought the "revolution of rising expectations", accompanied by a general hunger for knowledge which extended to people with little formal education (unqualified workers, peasants, women, retired people) who traditionally were less motivated to acquire an education. The social and political positions that many people took were related more to the nature of their political or social involvement than to their level of formal education (Krajnc 1973:18). In the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, nationality has also played an important role.

As in other East European countries, the educational system in Yugoslavia was designed "to inculcate a socialist view of society, especially

among the young, to promote a spirit of cooperation among the various republics, and to prepare the skilled and educated personnel needed to implement the Party´s and government´s goals of decentralization and improved efficiency throughout the national economy" (McDonald 1973:151). The hierarchy of educational goals for Yugoslav schools was presented by Frankovič (1974:45). Thus the goal of education presented in order of decreasing importance are "marxist upbringing", "development of Yugoslav socialist patriotism", "development of free and self-critical personality"; and finally, on the bottom of the list - ideological and educational objectives for particular school subjects.

Krajnc (1973) found through cross-national research that people in Yugoslavia attach no expectation of economic gain to education, but rather see education as a means for personal development. She also found differences between Yugoslav republics. Bosnia & Hercegovina, for example, one of the least developed regions, had the highest level of educational values even though its population had the lowest level of formal education. During my own field investigation in 1975 I noticed that education is an important value for the Bosnians regardless of whether it concerns general, occupational or political education (Bron 1980).

As Holmes (1958/1975:63) pointed out, "every nation has its own patterns of values in the major spheres of social activity - in politics, morals, economics, human relations, and in education". In Yugoslavia education is seen as serving a multiplicity of functions, and accordingly, there is very strong value attached to it which differs among particular nationalities. There are also visible cultural differences between republics/provinces.

Yugoslav educationists have listed seven categories of social functions that educational systems may perform (Krajnc 1973). Not all of them, of course, are performed by every single educational system:

1. The cultural function: "Education helps to transfer the whole of the culture, with its tradition, beliefs, folkways and manners".
2. The socializing function: "Individuals must be integrated into their culture, and for this to occur there must be basic similarities among individuals. Education therefore performs a socialization function".
3. The socio-political function: Educational systems help to spread

political ideas, so "eventually they become an accepted and integral part of general social matrix".

4. The economic function: In East European countries the benefits of a given educational system are still very often measured in terms of the social and political payoffs, but all over the world, more attention is being paid to economic concerns.
5. The differentiation function: "Prior to the industrial age... ownership of land, wealth, or status in the religious hierarchy used to be the determinants of social status. In contemporary society the phenomenon of social mobility has appeared on a large scale. The vehicle for this mobility has been education... No matter which 'yardstick' is used to measure social status in contemporary industrialised society, whether it be economic, social prestige, or cultural, there is always a correlation between high educational achievements and high social status".
6. The selective function: In most underdeveloped countries one may observe that "only the children of a particular social class can count on obtaining a good education".
7. The democratization function: "This aspect of the contribution of education to society has been stressed particularly in the East European countries, where education is considered 'not only the right, but also the duty of every individual'. It is said that without education the individual cannot participate effectively enough in the democratic processes of contemporary society" (Krajnc 1973:2-3).

According to my own research on the adult education system in Yugoslavia (Bron 1980) I should like to add another function:

8. The integrative function: In a federative and multi-cultural State, it is education that should constitute one of the leading social forces which contribute to welding diverse nationalities and communities into one society.

Yugoslavia, being the kind of country that it is, is especially dependent on education as one of its main factors of political, economic and military strenght. It is also a factor in consciousness formation and in pattering citizens' attitudes and convictions. Thus the State is to a greater and greater extent formulating educational policy in con-

formity with the interests of social groups and political parties exercising power.

As two sociologists Brooker & Gottlieb (1964/1975:135) have pointed out "no educational institution is external to the society and therefore no educational institution can exert influences for change beyond those implied in its accepted functions".

5. THE ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEM IN YUGOSLAVIA

While analyzing many definitions of the "adult education system" one notices that the author vary in the ways they single out the constitutive features of the system. Wishing to give the most comprehensive definition, they begin with the phrase: The adult education system is a complex of... and then follow the enumeration of various elements which are characteristic of a given system and which differentiate it from other systems (Tonković 1965, Filipović 1967, Savičević 1968, Samolovčev 1972, Titmus 1976). These authors agree that the system constitutes a functional whole; but here similarities end. The dissimilarities can be mainly observed in the individual elements of the system, in their order and hierarchy, and also in the structuralization of the description of the system.

The most comprehensive definition of adult education was formulated in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education. According to this document the term "adult education" denotes "the entire body of organized educational process, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development" (Recommendation 1976). Being quite general, this definition can be applied with reference to various countries.

However, while operationalizing this definition the description of the structure and functioning of the adult education system requires some specification. Thus the following elements of this system have to be single out:

- the objectives of adult education and training (educational goals and socio-political system of the country)
- educational policy (decision-making centres, educational legislation, financing of adult education)
- the organization of adult education institutions (types, network,

equipment)
- adult education programmes (selection of contents, planning and programming of education)
- teaching staff (professional status, training, proficiency courses)
- adult education participants (the educational standard of the adult population, educational needs of adults, socio-demographic characteristics of the participants).

Adult education in Yugoslavia has developed and is functioning in a situation which is characterized by very apparent cultural, social and economical dissimilarities. In fact the system of adult education consists of eight separate educational systems. As a result of the strong decentralization of the State, each of the six republics and two autonomous provinces has its own independent educational policy. Only in its basic foundations and laws is it co-ordinated at the federal level. This is apparent, for example, in the nature of educational acts. Since the beginning of the 1960´s, all federal acts have, in fact, been guidelines and as such they simply form a base for republican/provincial legislation. During the 1970´s, the decentralizing tendencies grew even stronger. The most important decisions in education, especially those concerning the network of institutions, programmes and types of education, and also the educational and teaching staff, are made at the republican and provincial levels. Thus the educational system of Yugoslavia is extremely varied; it is integrated primarily by common objectives and principles of the school system, and by having the same kind of educational institutions. This variety of traditions, current needs and developmental possibilities indicates the complexity of adult education in Yugoslavia.

At the same time adult education has received rather unusual attention in post-war Yugoslavia. The need for adult learning increased as a result of the rapid development which has taken place since World War II. Adults needed to develop new skills and aquire new information in order to participate in their society (Delalič 1979).

A very strong impetus for adult education was the introduction of the system of self-management in 1950. Through this system, all producers and other citizens could participate in decision making within their productive units and in other places of employment.

The vigorous efforts made to expand and reform the educational system during the first decade of the new Yugoslavia (1945-1956) reflect the tremendous importance that Yugoslav authorities placed on education. The aims of these efforts were threefold:

(a) To introduce the social and political changes conforming to "socialist relations" in the society,

(b) to assist in further economic and technical progress and to improve the material conditions of life,

and (c) to enable pupils and students to perceive new meaning in life and new opportunities provided by the new socio-political system (Delalič 1979).

The adult education system in Yugoslavia is dominated by two types of educational establishments the workers' universities and people's universities. These are polyvalent educational institutions providing courses and different activities both in education and culture. There are quite flexible institutions, being able to change their programmes of activity from year to year, adjusting them to the requirements of their respective areas. Over the past decade differences in their activities have become less distinct and now are practically the same. Certain existing differences derive from differences in the forms and methods of work. People's universities are older than workers' universities and are mainly concerned with popular education in various spheres of the liberal arts, science and engineering. The instructional programmes of the workers' universities are directly connected with the development of the self-management system, especially through the education and training of industrial workers.

The third most popular adult education institutions are the so-called cultural centres. They also educate and raise the cultural level of working people, youth and children, but with greater emphasis on cultural and recreational functions.

The workers' and people's universities, as well as the cultural centres, are especially engaged in elementary and complete primary education. They are primarily concerned with spreading literacy and providing elementary education for adults by organizing various forms of preparatory, consultative or home instruction. Since the mid-1970's, elementary education for adults has included elements of vocational training for various trades. These universities and centres offer elemen-

tary and primary education not only to employed persons but also to young people, who, for a variety of reasons, have failed to complete regular schools.

In addition to teaching literacy and offering complete primary education to adults, these institutions organize various forms of health education, pedagogical education for parents, foreign languages courses, and other general education programmes from different spheres of science and the liberal arts.

In addition to these activities, workers´ and people´s universities organize various forms of vocational training for adults, including job training and the dissemination of technical culture.

The programmes of the workers´and people´s universities and of the cultural centres are provided in the multitude of languages used by the various nationalities of Yugoslavia. The situation in 1978/79 year (the last available figure) was as follows:

Table 1.

Language	Workers´ and People´s Univ.	Cultural Centres
Serbo-Croatian /Croato-Serbian/	339	398
Slovenian	47	33
Macedonian	28	24
Albanian	8	26
Bulgarian	1	3
Hungarian	13	42
Czech & Slovakian	2	10
Rumanian	1	12
Russinian	1	5
Turkish	1	1
Italian	1	9
Ukrainian	-	2

Note: Workers´ and people´s universities and cultural centres which work in two or more languages are included in the figures for the individual languages; thus their total numbers for each language do not represent the actual numbers of these institutions.

(Source: Dedić 1982)

The early 1970's, during which time changes occured in the country's political and socio-economic situation, were a turning point in adult education as well. Ideological actions against "antisocialist tendencies" and "negative trends in society" supported intensified ideological work and political education. Since the beginning of the 1970's so-called Marxist Centres have been set up within the regional and republican central committees of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and even in the major factories. Similar institutions were set up by trade unions under the name Self-Managers Clubs. Both new establishments were defined as an "aiding organism for leading social forces" (i.e. for the party and trade unions). In fact, they actually took over the majority of activities previously run by the workers' and people's universities, which were subsequently ignored.

Delalič (1979:129) pointed out, that "a change occurred in the relationships between almost all the social organizations and WUs /i.e. the workers'universities - MBJr/ reflected particularly in the former's attitude toward the basic programs for training and educating... Many organizations of the LCY and trade unions in commune and workers organizations ceased to give aid to WUs". This has led to stagnation in school and out-of-school adult education.

6. THE DYSFUNCTIONALITIES IN ADULT EDUCATION PROVISIONS

The presentation of the problems discussed in this chapter is based on two techniques of gathering information: the review of literature and other pertinent documents, and interviews with scholars and politicians.

One of the most visible shortcomings of Yugoslav adult education is the feeble co-operation among the republics/provinces in attempts to overcome the existing difficulties. One is taken aback by the lack of interest on the part of educationists to exchange experiences and offer mutual assistance. Regarding primary and secondary education, many practical solutions (school-books, teaching aids, organization of teaching-learning process) adopted from other republics, especially form the Serbo-Croatian language area, could be utilized. However, Yugoslav educational policy-makers have decided that each republic and province should publish its own manuals regardless of the considerably higher expenses involved.

This lack of collaboration and understanding among individual republics and provinces of the Federation adversely affacts the "horizontal patency" of regular schools and adult education. In spite of the evident shortcomings of the present situation, the new legislative acts (primarily the republican/provincial Secondary and Higher Education Bills) seem in no way to be aimed at changing the present situation. This applies, among other things, to educational reforms and to the right for individual universities and secondary schools to establish the examination and enrollment requirements themselves.

In the past the authorities of higher education institutions commonly refused to recognize certificates issued by schools in other republics/provinces. This has made it practically impossible for a student to move from a particular department in one institution of higher learning to a similar department in another.

If the implementation of educational reforms is not well co-ordinated, the situations such as the one in which the "R.Cirpanov" Workers' University of Novi Sad (Vojvodina) found itself, can occur. In the 1975/76

school year, this institution was obliged to carry on instruction in the first class of the technical school for adults using the old curriculum even though new curricula for secondary education had already been put into effect in the province of Vojvodina. This problem arose because the Novi Sad technical school was only a branch of the school at Zemun in Serbia, where reform of secondary education had yet to be implemented.

Another feature related to adult education, which should be considered as a dysfunctionality of adult education system, is the question of primary education of Yugoslav workers employed in Western Europe. The lack of a uniform all-Yugoslav curriculum and study plan for adult primary education significantly retards the development of educational activity among Yugoslav workers abroad. The participants in such a training programmes do not form a homogenous group in terms of nationality. Nor are they enrolled in courses according to the republics from which they come. As a result, they study according to the curriculum of the adult education institution organizing a particular training scheme abroad. For example, the "Dj.Djaković" Workers' University of Sarajevo (Bosnia & Hercegovina) has its branch in Hannover. As a result those attending the courses there follow the curriculum developed in Bosnia & Hercegovina, whereas Yugoslav workers employed in Lower Saxony come from all republics, Croatians and Vojvodinians slightly outnumbering the other nationalities.

Obviously, a dysfunctionality is not only specific to adult education. The whole system of education is suffering from the social and economic crisis faced by the country. However, as some of the sociologists gathered in Portorož stated, the negative aspects of Yugoslav society are also effectively strenghtened by the divided school system.

Two of the most common educational problems originating from the general social and political situation concern (a) recognition of school credentials and (b) unification versus differentiation of school curricula. Increasing numbers of social scientists, educators and even politicians are emphasizing the urgent need for unifying school curricula and the standards for recognizing school competence. Lukić (1983:32), for example, advocates a more coherent curriculum in some

school subjects including the technical and natural sciences. In the humanities more attention should be placed on presenting other Yugoslav nations and on discussing problems related to the country as a whole.

It is also extremely important to eradicate the bureaucratic barriers to transfering from one school in a particular republic/province to another school of the same type operating in another republic/province. In practice, it is presently impossible to change schools without problems and hindrances. Usually, graduates intending to continue education in other republic/province have to prove their level of knowledge even though they have the proper school credentials. As Flere (1983:221) states, all of this disorder is a violation of law. He apparently means that the constitution does not require such procedures.

During a month of field research in Yugoslavia (November 1984) I had an opportunity to meet with and interview people of different professions and official positions. They were mainly researchers (adult educationists and sociologists), educational administrators (at the republican and communal levels), politicians (party officials and trade union officers at the federal and republican levels) and adult educators (organizers and teachers). Interviews took place in three republics (Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia) and in one autonomous province (Vojvodina). Despite their different professions and work all interviewees were asked to answer the same questions (see Appendix 2) [12/].

Answers concerning the problem of dysfunctionality of (adult) education will be presented in the following order: (a) general remarks on the (adult) education situation at a time of economic crisis, (b) (adult) education tasks, (c) curricula and their characteristics, (d) some (unexpected) results of educational policy.

The general opinion on the current state of art of adult education in Yugoslavia is unanimous: adult education is in a stage of stagnation and crisis.

In the last decade adult education has been constantly pushed from the

centre to the periphery of the educational policy (at all levels of education). Although adult education still receives attention in official statements, in practice it is far behind the youth education in terms of finance, staff and infrastructure. There is a visible gap between proclamations and reality, stresses a Serbian adult educationist.

According to a Slovenian adult educationist, adult education is too diversified to be unified at the national level, as a school system usually is.

Agreeing with that opinion another Serbian adult educationist stressed that adult education is not only in a deep crisis but is also characterized by total chaos. The main reason for this is a lack of competence among decision-makers as well as organizers. For this specialist the lack of professional identity of adult education personnel was a crucial point. The need for a such identity had a high priority for him. He also underlined the need for professionalism and basic knowledge about adult education among those who allocate funds.

According to official declarations, adult education adequately fulfills social needs and demands, but in practice this is far from reality; the practical implementation of idealistic goals and recommendations is rather exiguous. The problems with implementation are exacerbated by the "diluted responsibility" among administrators [13]. Both of these phenomena, i.e. the gap between resolutions and reality and a lack of responsibility are especially seen in adult basic education (cf Bron & Bron-Wojciechowska 1983). In spite of the many programmes for action, specially designed curricula (some are excellent), and the numerous institutions and organizations involved, no visible progress has been made.

These opinions provided by adult educationists have been confirmed be sociologists. As one of them (from Serbia) pointed out, adult education declined in status during mid-1970's, when the school reform began. Changes in funding allocation policy led to the so-called "commercialization of the educational provision for adults". This provision was usually limited to short, profitable courses related

to the private hobbies or to the interests of employers.

The most critical interviewee was a Slovenian sociologist, whose opinion can be summarised in the following statements:
- Adult education has not helped to surmount the barriers of integration.
- There are no educational activities at the federal level.
- (Adult) education enforces local cultures and traditions.

Politicians usually favoured close links and even dependence of education upon the economy. Thus it is not surprising that the current situation is closely related to the poor state of the economy and social relations in Yugoslavia. As an educational officer from the Trade Union Federal Confederation remarked, the educational system reflects all of the tensions of the social system. Still, it should be emphasized, that education is just as much the cause as the result of these tensions. It is, however, meaningless to idealistically discuss the role of adult education and ways towards improving it because the economy is still the decisive factor limiting progress. Without a visible improvement in this sphere, there is no chance for positive change in others.

A similar opinion was presented by the Executive Secretary of the Serbian Central Committee of the League of Communists. She stressed that the economic situation is the factor limiting integration. Moreover, centrifugal forces are present in Yugoslavia which prevent the development of the so-called "united Yugoslav market".

The close relationship between the economy and adult education was also stressed by the already quoted Serbian adult educationist. Economic disintegration also leads to disintegration in education. Hopefully, the oposite situation is also true, i.e. economic integration should contribute to the integration of educational system. Unfortunately, under the present circumstances, there is no doubt that the economic situation will hinder any efforts to improve the quality of adult education.

What are, then the current tasks of adult education? There is no simple

answer to this question. For the Trade Unions' Confederation official one of the most important present task for adult education is the distribution of information. A prerequisite for agreement and co-operation among the Yugoslav nations is the mutual exchange of information and ideas. Unfortunately, there is a pronounced trend towards isolationism in a choice of study materials [14/].

On the other hand, the Slovenian adult educationist stressed that schools and adult education have the important task of providing students with relevant local knowledge. Who else will preserve Slovenian culture if not the Slovenians, Macedonian culture if not the Macedonians? However, information of local significance should not be emphasised at the expence of information of significance to the country as a whole.

A similar opinion was presented by the Serbian adult educationist. There are many situations in which adult education could promote integration, familiarity and understanding among the participants which come from different regions and cultures [15/]. Education, in general, can contribute to the integration of a multi-cultural society not only from the curriculum point of view, but also from a cultural one: participation in educational activities should help develop positive attitudes and appreciation of other nations among the participants.

Corresponding positions were taken by the Croatian educationist who was also a sociologist of art. She stressed that "good" education raises the students' consciousness with regard to multi-cultural phenomena. This awareness should lead to a better understanding of the common history of Yugoslavian republics/provinces and increase cohesiveness between the country's various cultural factions.

An analogous viewpoint was presented by the Slovenian adult educationist. She stressed that although differences exist, increased familiarity with those differences and knowledge of their background should further understanding and tolerance, and help develop friendships.

Despite all of the existing natural and artificial barriers to cross-

national (i.e. cross-republican) communication there is still great potential for various sectors to work together. Even in such a drastically divided school system there are some subjects which contribute to integration processes. These subjects, however, are of a very special nature.

The subject "Basis of Socialist Self-Management" is taught in primary and secondary schools throughout the country. It is not only a compulsory subject in all schools, but, in addition, its contents are very strictly regulated. As the Croatian sociologist pointed out, educational policy makes its impact on self-management education (this even relates to adult education courses). The concept of self-management is apparently an ideology and constitutes the background of the officially appreciated system of values. In this sense self-management education is of a centripetal nature.

Interestingly "integrative" educational activities are occurring outside the state school system. They are of three very different types: (1) one concerns ideological education provided by the party educational centres (including the famous Political School in Kumrovec). (2) Training activities by professional associations, such as the Yugoslav Association of Sociology which designs and teaches post-graduate courses for participants from all republics and provinces. Similar activities have also been provided, for almost 30 years now, by the Yugoslav Association of Adult Education Organizations in the form of a Summer School in Poreč (now in Crikvenica) and a Winter School in Opatija and Samobor. (3) The third "integrative" educational activity involves co-operation within a particular branch of industry. Workers are sent to the best training centres throughout the country. Slovenia, for instance, runs such training centres in the textile and diary industries. Students come from different republics and provinces. The biggest problem for these courses is language, which is often a serious barrier to communication.

The need for co-operation has became obvious even for politicians. "We came to the point that we need more co-operation and more united efforts in education" remarked one party official. A decision to

develop the so-called "common curriculum core" was made. In the natural sciences and technical subjects it was quite easy to establish this common curriculum. The most sensitive discussions concerned the teaching of history and languages. These discussions were long-lasting and, as the Serbian educationist pointed out, were too focused on differences rather than on similarities.

The sensitivity and difficulty of the problem is exemplified by three divergent approaches to the teaching of history; they are summarised below.

(1) As a school subject, history is taught in relation to the history of Yugoslavia; there is not enough emphasis on the history of each people. However, information is presented on the past history of particular regions of the country (Croatian sociologist).

(2) There is a certain amount of information presented about other Yugoslav nations which every student is required to learn. There is also a significant part of school curriculum devoted to the history of a particular region and nation. A problem arises, however, when representatives of certain national minorities ("nationalities") demand that the history of their nations which "took place outside Yugoslav frames", be included in the school curricula. This was the case with Albanians living in Yugoslavia. Their demands are unacceptable (Trade Union official).

(3) It is necessary to diversify school curricula. In teaching history in Slovenian schools, for example, much more time should be devoted to the history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy than to the study history of certain regions of modern Yugoslavia. The c o m m o n history of Yugoslav nations began no earlier than 1918 (Slovenian sociologist).

Although information about other Yugoslav nations is included in school programmes, it is evident that republican/provincial bureaucracies manipulate the educational systems [16/]. The dominance of ethnocentric elements in educational systems and in their curricula is apparent (Serbian sociologist) [17/].

Obviously, one cannot predict all of the ramifications of a particular

decision, especially when it concerns such a complicated organization as a federal State. It is not, however, impossible to forsee some of them.

One rather predictable expected effects of the decentralization of educational policy is the growth in the numbers of republican/provincial and local school bureaucracies. Naturally, they tend to protect their "territorial dominions" and to control all links with "the outside world". This leads not only to partitioning of school curricula but also to large, unjustified expenditures. As one of Serbian adult educationists pointed out, a great amount of money is spent to pay the salaries of school bureaucrats but their contribution to the development of education is very small.

Another problem with Yugoslav educational policy is its inconsistent and inconsequent implementation. Ivo Andrič once said that "We, Yugoslavs, do not fulfill any assignments, but we try to forget them". This might also apply to the frequebt constitutional changes and numerous schools reforms. It led another Serbian adult educationist to remark, that in Yugoslavia politicians use schools for experiments to serve their own ends without regard for the well-being of the school itself.

According to this person, one of the reasons for such exploitation is the so-called "educational economism", i.e. educational planning according to current needs while neglecting long-term perspectives.

One of the most unexpected results of the educational policy, although familiar to sociologists and political scientists, was a marked increase in the national identity and national(istic) demands in the province of Kosovo. Educational policy was not directly responsible nor was it the only factor increasing tensions in this region; nevertheless, the contribution of the educational system to this problem is apparent. According to the Slovenian sociologist intense nationalism had already long been present in Kosovo among primary school teachers. But nationalism was increased to an even greater extent when university was established in Priština (the capital of Kosovo) and consequently produced a great number of Albanian intelligentsia in Yugoslavia. University graduates remaining

in the province needed appropriate working places and positions; thus they demanded greater autonomy. This trend was characterised by the quite a strange development in the least developed region: more than 60 per cent of university students attended courses in humanities. Secondary school curricula in Kosovo devoted more hours to humanities and social sciences than to industrial trades (Serbian sociologist).

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The above observations indicate that adult education in Yugoslavia, despite its long tradition and existing, though limited, potential is not effectively dealing with disintegration, the most critical problem of Yugoslav society. The need to develop tools used to further the integration process is very urgent. One such potential agent is adult education. Unfortunately, adult education too often functions as a centrifugal force.

A list of the dysfunctionalities of Yugoslav adult education is quite long. It is very difficult, if at all possible, to determine the direct causes of this situation. There is no unanimity even among Yugoslav scholars in their considerations and explanations. It is remarkable that the majority of interviewees stressed the importance of economic (dis)integration processes, while sociologists gathered in Portorož, although of Marxist provenance, put more stress on ideological and legislative factors than on purely economic ones (cf Chapter 2).

There is no doubt that the general economic situation negatively affects adult education provisions. Nevertheless, the visible stagnation in adult education, as well as in other parts of the educational system, is also due to internal weaknesses. One of the most serious of them is - as named earlier - "diluted responsibility". Another weakness is the unwillingness of republican/provincial and local school authorities to co-operate. These two reasons undermine most of the attempts at improving the quality of adult education.

One of the most crucial endeavours to reduce the existing differences inschools and adult education between republics and provinces was launched in 1978. At its XIIth Congress the League of Communists took up a recommendation to remove "unnecesary differences" in school systems and curricula. This recommendation led to a concept of a "common curriculum core". This initiative, however, shared the fate of many other attempts to overcome centrifugal forces. It is remarkable that the concept of the "common curriculum core", which was even followed up by additional agreements and bylaws, did not "open borders" for students and graduates from different republics/provinces.

There are numerous other examples of legislative impotence. In May 1980, a bill calling for a Unified Basis for Classification of Occupational and Vocational Competence was signed. The goal was to standardize requirements for vocational qualifications in terms of school education and/or in-service training. In the spring 1981, the Common Foundations of Educational Systems Bill was passed which i.a. onliged all republics and provinces to change or to introduce new school curricula within a 2-year period. Up until now, however, nothing substantial has happened.

An excellent explanation for this impotence is given by Rus. He writes (1984:382) that "it became evident that too much energy was being spent to overcome contradictions in Yugoslav self-management instead of trying to develop more sophisticated instruments for their regulation".

During the last decade Yugoslavia has faced not only an economic crisis; additionally, centrifugal forces are becoming as increasing threat to the unity of the federation. The party still dominates the entire spectrum of social life but its real position is weakening. After events in Kosovo the integrative role of the army is diminishing. Under these circumstances I believe that policy must be focused on establishing a s t a t e h o o d i d e n t i t y among all ethnic groups comprising the Yugoslav society. Adult education has the potantial for playing a very important role in creating such federation-wide identity [18/].

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Yugoslav Experiences

The main task of this paper was to examine the relationship between the adult education system in Yugoslavia and the main processes occurring in its society. The point of departure was a belief that educational provisions for adults contribute to surmounting the barriers dividing the Yugoslav society. It turned out, however, that these provisions offered little or no help in subduing conflicts and tensions. Moreover, at the federal level, adult education actually favour centrifugal forces instead of acting as integrative factor.

It is hardly to disagree with those Yugoslav specialists who stress the importance of economical functionality and welfare as a condition of progress in other spheres of social life. It is, however, justified to doubt whether the economic disintegration threshold has already been reached. If this is the case, then the future prospects for adult education provisions look very gloomy.

The dependence of education upon economy is especially prominent in "socialist" countries. The marxistic ideology stresses economy, while culture and education are treated very instrumentally. The logic of educational reforms, for example, contradicts the policy of Yugoslavia, as well as the policies of other East European countries. According to Dahllöf (1977b:144) "educational reforms naturally are, and should be, results of political values and decisions, which are based on priorities of various goals and are balanced with regard to those resources which are available or might be created". However, the situation in Yugoslavia is different. Educational reforms are planned after ideological goals which do not take existing human resources or available infrastructure into consideration. This is one actual explanation of the failures of educational reforms up to now. The other explanation is based on the discrepancy between ideological objectives imposed by the ruling party and values predominating in the society at large.

The dominance of the party is also reflected in research and educational policies of the country and of particular republics and provinces. The particularization of interests is a decisive factor stimulating disintegration processes in Yugoslavia. My observations on the political and economic situations of the country, extensive readings and in-depth discussions with the people in Yugoslavia have led me to conclude that the country's policy is grounded on the principle of divide et impera. It is hard to judge how deliberate this policy is; nevertheless many facts and phenomena confirm this conclusion.

The general situation of the country in a state of crisis (cf Chapter 2) and the problems related to adult education (cf Chapter 6) provide ample evidence that impotent legislation (at the federal level) and adult education provisions are functioning as tools of disintegration instead of enforcing integration processes. This conclusion is further supported by striking absence of problems related to multi-culturism in any of the adult education programmes and activities, nor are they mentioned in any adult education publications. These observations are even more surprising in view of the fact that the problem of multi-culturism is actually discussed by sociologists and political scientists [19].

There was, however, a period when this very problem was investigated by (adult) educationists. During the years 1957-1963, for example, research projects such as: "The Influence of School Environment on a Development of a Notion Fatherland", "School and Attitudes towards Fatherland", "Education and Teaching of Nationally Mixed Student Groups" were carried out. In retrospect, it is hard to understand why such problems were investigated during a time of relatively peaceful relations between Yugoslav nationalities but "vanished" when inter-nationality tensions became apparent. One suspicion arises directly: Were there deliberate attempts to forbid research on certain problems?

A vague answer was offered by Kuvačič (1983:48) who noticed that inter-nationality conflicts in Yugoslavia coincided with an increase in the risk of a more pronounced class struggle. An even

more direct answer can be found at Šešelj's thesis (1983:362) that facing the economic crisis, authorities sought refuge by renewing discussions on nationalism and in reviving inter-national antagonisms.

This hypothesis seems incredible because it presumes that Yugoslav politicians consciously decided to commit "political suicide". However, other observations on social, economic and political life in Yugoslavia and an analysis of empirical research findings also support this hypothesis. Especially when the differences between the federal and republican/provincial levels are taken into consideration. This maneuvering by politicians may also explain why foreign researchers studying Yugoslav problems, including the leading specialist - the Englishman Fred Singleton - more often rely on personal beliefs than on "cold facts" in their prognosis concerning the future of the country. This is illustrated by Singleton's statement: "I believe, however, that the forces which make for the survival of Yugoslavia are stronger than those which appear to be pulling it apart" (Singleton 1976:5). It is also true that "the fact that, after more than three decades of socialist Yugoslavia, the problem has not yet been solved, is not so much a reflection of the inadequacy of the Yugoslav system as a recognition of the enormity of the problem" (Singleton & Carter 1982:210).

How, will this situation continue to develop? "Can a state survive as a credible political entity with the wide - and possibly widening - cultural and economic differences between its component parts?" (Singleton 1976:6). Are politicians and bureaucrats willing and able to attempt solving problems? Is society ready to co-operate with authorities in the struggle to improve the economy? What social forces are able to encourage such co-operation? Even if there is an answer for each of the above questions it is evident that "no observer feels confident in his ability to anticipate the varied forms that the new values will assume. Nevertheless, although common trends are evident in Yugoslavia's heterogeneous society, wide difference in levels of development, family structure,

religion, and ethnic identity are still reflected in the differing value systems retained by various major subgroups" (McDonald 1973: 224).

There is also a long list of questions yet to be answered, questions concerning the problems discussed in this report. Their scope is very wide; they range from general matters of politics, through the crucial problems of societal roles of educational systems to the practical results of educational provision for adults. Here are some of these questions (some formulated by readers of the draft version of the paper); to answer them will require further study.

- To what extent is the situation a result of factors eminent in the system as opposed to it being a consequence of various institutions or groups not implementing an otherwise existing system? (K.Magnusson)
- Is is really possible to change people's attitudes through education? (K.Magnusson)
- Why were Yugoslav educationists not concerned about integrative function of the educational system? (T.Negash)
- Why has education not played a more active role in furthering cultural integration? (K.Magnusson)
- Why, in the situation of generally accepted main objectives of education and leading tasks of the school system (i.e. centripetal outcomes at the normative level), the realization of these goals and tasks, especially their implementation in school curricula, counteracts these objectives (i.e. centrifugal outcomes at the execution level)?
- What is the relationship between attitudes towards other cultures and level of education; are these attitudes related to socio-economic (class) background; can school education help build desirable attitudes; what is the role of informal learning in developing valuable attitudes?

In Search for an Explanatory Theory

This section is an attempt to apply (neo)-Marxist theory in relation to the situation in a country with a Marxistic ideology. My goal is to present some views and judgements on the relationship between the (adult) education system and social change. These opinions derived directly from the Marxist authors or from critical analyses of their writings.

Karabel & Halsey (1977:40) were correct in their belief that "one of the strengths of the neo-Marxist analysis of education under capitalism is that its theoretical framework is quite applicable to the study of socialist educational systems". Thus it seems justified to use neo-Marxist theory as the background when trying to determine the relationship between adult education provisions and the processes which are taking place in the society at large.

In summarizing A.Gramsci's analysis of the Marxist dialectical approach, Paulston (1977:386) writes that "formal education is here viewed as a part of the ideological structure which a ruling class controls to maintain its control of knowledge and thus, its privilege and cultural hegemony. And because formal education is dependent on the dominant economic and political institutions, it cannot be a primary agent of social transformation..." This viewpoint differs from that of the Yugoslav approach towards educational reform described by Šoljan (1977:191): "In Yugoslavia, the most recent reform is not conceived as merely a reform of the school system, but as an overall reform built into the essential development of new self-management socio-economic relations". This contradiction in interpretations illustrates how Marxist theory can differ substantially from the policy and reality labeled to be Marxism or socialist self-management.

The general relationship between educational and social systems is

also discussed by Uruguay scholar Germán W.Rama, who was a co-ordinator of the Project for Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. In his article entitled "Education, Social Structure and Styles of Development" Rama (1978) distinguishes between five "styles of education": Traditional, Social mobilization, Cultural participation, Technocratic and/or training on manpower, and Political "freeze".

In discussing the Yugoslav case, the last of the above-listed "styles" is of great interest. Rama (1978:309) describes it as follows: "In the political 'freeze' the main function of the style is to ensure the political control of education. Strict limits are imposed on education, which is useful only in so far as it transmits to the rising generations certain irrefutable values presented as dogma. Culture and knowledge are not values in themsleves, but only a means of organizing the desired type of society". Further on Rama (1978:316) reasons in the following way: "In a regime based on a concentration of power and an exclusive ideology, education (which in one way or another encompasses all social classes) is used to ensure the integration of the new values in society, besides being the standard-bearer of the official ideology". However, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, one objection should be raised: The educational system hardly fulfils the first function while being the main agent of the second one. Despite this objection, Rama's model of political "freeze" accurately describes the position of adult education in Yugoslavia. He observes correctly that "one of the main features of the political 'freeze' is its failure to promote any form of social mobility, which substantially reduces the effectiveness of education" (Rama 1978:317).

Marxist and neo-Marxist studies on the class and group structure of the society are appropriate to the situation in Yugoslavia and to the discussion on the relationship between the (adult) education system and the processes which occur in society as a whole. Ossowski's observations on the dominating class seems to be

adequate. "For the situation of the dominating class appears so secure that there is no need for it to seek allies in the strata below by means of a 'divide and rule' policy. In these conditions, the increase of social distance leads to an extension of the privileges enjoyed by the dominating class" (Ossowski 1963:35). Consequently, in an insecure situation the most powerful group of the society - in Yugoslav case the party apparatus - tends to share its power and privileges with selected status groups (state and trade union establishments) and to implement the policy of divide et impera vis à vis the rest of the society.

Collins, a neo-Marxist sociologist of education, is also interested in the position and role of dominating strata. He follows Weber's enumeration of sources from which status groups may be derived. There are three main sources "(a) differences in life style based on economic situation, (b) differences inlife situation based on power position, (c) differences in life situation deriving directly from cultural conditions or institutions, such as geographical origin, ethnicity, religion, education..." (Collins 1971/1977:125). In his conflict theory analysis he writes that "the basic unit of society are associational groups sharing common cultures (or "subcultures")... they may be extended to religious, educational, or ethnic communities. In general, they comprise all persons who share a sense of status equality based on participation in a common culture... Subjectively, status groups distinguish themselves from others in terms of categories of m o r a l e v a l u a t i o n (italics)... Thus the exclusion of persons who lack the ingroup culture is felt to be normatively legitimated" (Collins 1971/1977:125). One can suppose that this was one of the hidden motives in the passionate discussions about the "Yugoslavs" which emerged in the years 1981-1983.

The role of dominant groups in influencing the educational policy was acknowledged by Weber. As Karabel & Halsey (1977:43) write: "Weber pointed researchers in the right directions when he suggested

that a critical element of the power of dominant groups resides in their capacity to impose their own educational and cultural ideals on schools. These ideals are reflected both in what is taught and in how it is taught for the goals of education is to form the mind and the personality".

One of the most interesting recent publications which considers the relationship between adult education and social change is an article written by two British scholars (Thomas & Harries-Jenkins 1975). In the article the authors discuss and comment on two theories concerning the sociology of education, i.e. conflict theory and consensus theory, and propose their own theiretical framework.

According to Thomas & Harries-Jenkins (1975:2) conflict theorists "emphasise the effects of domination, exploitation and coercion, concluding that a central objective of adult education must be the production of changes in a society's basic outlook and goals". Consensus theorists, in turn, represent a different approach. "the cohesion, stability and performance of the consensus model emphasise not the struggle for power and privilege but the significance of norms and behavioural standards which are seen to be the basic element of social life". It is not difficult to guess that advocates of such an approach can be found among those who already possess power and privileges.

Proposing their theoretical framework, Thomas & Harries-Jenkins (1975) suggest that an analysis of the relationship between the adult education and changes in the society should be classified in four categories: Revolution, Reform, Maintenance and Conservation which constitute a continuum. In the following discussion attention will be turned to the maintenance category, as it most closely mirrors the Yugoslav situation.

Thomas & Harries-Jenkins (1975) derived the reform category from the conflict theory of society while the maintenance category was derived from consensus theory. They are aware that, in spite of the

theoretical justification, in practice their inference might lead to a confusion. Such confusion can arise because some authors, who support the "reform concept", have focused their analyses on the entire society, although the conflict theory is grounded on the concept of interests of particular groups. Similarly, supporters of the "maintenance concept", which is based on the need of the entire society, "may be interpreted to mean the wish to create a stable society for the continuing advantages of particular interests or groups" (Thomas & Harries-Jenkins 1975:9).

Both authors rightly observed that the "maintenance concept" of the relationship between adult education and society provides "ample evidence of a developed interest, not only in ensuring a sense of commitment to those norms, but also in creating consensus on the values which produce them" (Thomas & Harries-Jenkins 1975: 10). In the Yugoslav case the evidence might be found, e.g. in the great emphasis on political education for adults.

The leading and decisive role of the party apparatus in Yugoslavia is especially explicit in the "maintenance concept". As Thomas & Harries-Jenkins (1975:11) write: "The very idea of maintenance tends to assume that it is only an élite who can judge the type of education which is required to ensure the continued stability of society". It seems that the two British scholars have accurately described the way in which Yugoslav educational policy is formulated and implemented. This also explains why several attempts made by the party apparatus to bridge the gap between the adult education system and the most important processes occurring outside the educational provisions did not succeed.

Footnotes

1/. An interesting comment on this problem was made by Singleton (1976:43) who writes that "usually it is a common external danger which makes them feel that they are first and foremost Yugoslavs, and only secondarily Croats, Serbs or Slovenes. In periods when the external danger is absent their historically rooted cultural differences come to the surface".

2/. According to figures provided by Goati (1983:143) the situation in Serbia in the year 1976 was as follows: (a) 75 per cent of the delegates of municipal assemblies were party members; the number increased to 97 per cent among members of executive boards of municipal governments; (b) 80 per cent of the managers of industrial enterprises and other institutions were members of the League. A similar situation occured in trade unions. In 1979, in the municipal councils of trade unions, party members constituted 74.5 per cent of the membership, in republican and provincial councils - 95.3 per cent, and in the Federal Council of Trade Unions - 98.6 per cent.

3/. Matvejevič (1984) stresses that there already exists too much extended and strenghtened republican, provincial and even local centralism. The problem, however, is that centralism at the federal level was completely dispossessed.

4/. "As often happens in Yugoslavia, the declared objectives of the system were often at variance with the reality of day-to-day economic relations. These contradictions arise partly because of the struggle within the decision-making bodies..." (Singleton 1976:150).

5/. An interesting empirical investigation on the influence of the multi-cultural composition of the army on attitudes of soldiers and officers towards other nations was carried out and presented by Mrmak (1969). However, the situation was presented in such a positive light that I question the reliability of this report.

6/. "Ecumenism has made limited progress among Yugoslav churches, mainly because denominations continue to be closely identified with a particular national or ethnic consciousness. Distrust of other religious groups, inherited from the past, continues to divide religious communities" (McDonald 1973:220).

7/. A distinction is made between nationality and citizenship.

8/. The problem of national categories in Yugoslav censuses, including the category "Yugoslavs", is discussed by Magnusson (1982a).

9/. However, out of the six possible ways to deal with subcultural conflicts, as R.A.Dahl formulated them, two of them - namely violence and repression as well as secession or separation - are particularly pronounced (cf Daalder 1973:20).

10/. This assertion is validated by the following statistical figures: in 1981 among 50,208 delegates of 527 municipal assemblies "Yugoslavs" were represented by 2,820 persons (which constituted 5.6 per cent); among 1,916 delegates of 6 republican and 2 provincial assemblies "Yugoslavs" were represented by 91 persons (4.7 per cent); among 308 delegates of the federal parliament "Yugoslavs" were represented by 11 persons (3.6 per cent) (cf Beltram 1983).

11/. An interesting variation to the Slovenian sociologist's position was presented by Matvejević (1984) who bolstered the idea and the need for "citizenship culture" and for civic education. People without such a culture represent only single denomination, namely national, at the cost of the other - a "Yugoslav" one.

12/. As mentioned in the Introduction, all references to and quotations from interviews are made without using the names of interviewees. In Chapter 6 only material which directly concerns the disintegration phenomena and processes was quoted. The remainder of the recorded material will be used in the other parts of the Final Report.

13/. Matvejević (1984) writes that it is very important not only to indicate who is responsible for what but also to determine the deadline before which a given decision must be implemented.

14/. Two solutions to overcoming this trend are proposed by Matvejević (1984): (a) particular republics/provinces should offer special scholarships to students to undertake studies in other republics to obtain knowledge on other nations/nationalities histories and cultures, or to improve their language competence. Graduates of these studies returning to their own republics/provinces would serve as one kind of cultural link; (b) in all larger urban centres, information offices with sales departments providing books and journals published throughout the country should be establieshed.

15/. However, there has not been any direct positive result of internal migration. "A degree of internal migration may be socially desirable in a multi-national federation, on the assumption that mutual understanding will grow as the mixing of population occurs. This will not happen if ghettos of Kosovars are established in Zagreb and Ljubljana" (Singleton & Carter 1982:228).

16/. This situation is not specific only to education. Similar tendencies have been observed by Matvejević (1984) in the sphere of culture.

He emphasised the destructive influence of republican/provincial bureaucracies on cultural life. The policy of regional authorities strenghtens and foments particularism and provinsionalism of the culture.

17/. One gets the impression that the only area of possible succesful co-operation in education is a curriculum specially designed for children of Yugoslav citizens working in western countries. In the program developed in 1977 there were 12 themes proposed for primary school children (Teodosijević 1978). Among them seven were of "all-Yugoslav" character, e.g. My fatherland - Yugoslavia, SFRY today, Cultural heritage of Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Life and work in Yugoslavia. It seems that it is easier to agree on school curricula for use abroad then for domestic use.

18/. The task that adult education should fulfil is similar to Kazamias' & Massialas' concept of political socialization which "has the explicit purpose of molding the behaviour of the... people into politically and socially relevant form". And further: "political socialization has been and continues to be a major function of all systems of education, regardless of the prevailing social ethic or political and economic practices in the given state". And yet further: "the recent emergence of new states has shouldered the schools with the responsibility for the development of national consciousness and political consensus" (Kazamias & Massialas 1965:130).

19/. Compare, for instance, a bibliography of publications on national questions published during the years 1978-1982 (Celovič 1983). This bibliography covers all publications concerning national issues, national minorities, legal positions of nations and nationalities in SFRY, inter-nationality relations in Yugoslavia and other issues related to the problem. Among 182 items, five concerned educational matters; none had empirical character and three of them were of propaganda character. There were also eight other publications which were issued in the framework of the so-called "libraries", i.e. series addressed to special groups, e.g. participants of "political schools", trade union courses, "schools for self-managers".

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B. Interviews

Profession	Position	Republic
Adult Educationists	Associate Professor	Serbia
	Professor	Slovenia
	Professor	Croatia
	Professor	Macedonia
	Professor	Serbia
Educationists	Professor	Serbia
Sociologists	Associate Professor	Croatia
	Associate Professor	Serbia
	Assistant Professor	Croatia
	Professor	Slovenia
	Professor	Croatia
Politicians	Head of Department, Federal Council of Trade Unions Confederation	Federal Level
	Executive Secretary, Republican Central Committee of the League	Serbia

Appendix 1. Tables: National Composition

(taken from: Jončič 1982)

Yugoslavia's highly composite community of different nationalities can be classified using five categories, i.e. - according to the official terminology - nations, nationalities, ethnic groups, "Yugoslavs" and others.

The first category comprises six "nations", which are named, with one exception, after the federal republic (cf Map on page 58). The exception concerns Moslems (sic! in Yugoslav official terminology it denotes a national not religious affiliation), who live in the republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The second category comprises ten national minorities called "nationalities" in Yugoslavia. In the 1963 Constitution the old term "national minority" was replaced by the broader one in order to convey a sense of equal rights for all citizens despite their national origin.

In Yugoslav official terminology a distinction is drawn between "nationalities" and "ethnic groups". The latter term refers to "a people at a lower level of ethnic organization, with no written literary language, with primarily an oral tradition or which is in the process of creating its literary language and other features" (Jončič 1982:119). There were two ethnic groups in Yugoslavia.

The fourth category concerns those persons who, for different reasons, do not claim any national affiliation and describe themselves as "Yugoslavs".

There are also other national minorities whose number are fewer than 10,000 (or less than 0.1 per cent), e.g. Germans (8,712), Russians (4,467) or Poles (3,034). They are registred in national censuses under the category "others", which also covers those with unknown and no national affiliation.

Map Present-day administrative boundaries

(Source: Singleton 1976:104)

The total number of individuals in these five categories and the relative proportion of each category within the Yugoslav population are given in the Table 1.

Table 1. Composition of the Population of Yugoslavia

Population of the SFRY	T o t a l	In %
	22,427,585	100.0
Nations		
Croatians	4,428,043	19.7
Macedonians	1,341,598	6.0
Montenegrins	579,043	2.6
Moslems	1,999,890	8.9
Serbs	8,140,507	36.3
Slovenes	1,763,571	7.8
Nationalities		
Albanians	1,730,878	7.7
Bulgarians	36,189	0.2
Czechs	19,624	0.1
Hungarians	426,867	1.9
Italians	15,132	0.1
Rumanians	54,955	0.2
Ruthenians	23,286	0.1
Slovaks	80,334	0.4
Turks	101,291	0.5
Ukrainians	12,813	0.1
Ethnic Groups		
Romanies (Gypsies)	168,197	0.8
Vlachs	32,071	0.1
Yugoslavs	1,219,024	5.4
Others	254,272	1.1

Table 2 (see p. 60) shows the proportions made up by the each of four categories, i.e. excluding six "nations", in the proportions of six federal republics and two autonomous provinces. The proportions are quite uneven, namely Bosnia and Hercegovina and Slovenia have

Table 2. Populations of Republics and Provinces Classified into Four Categories

Nationality	SFRY		Bos. & Herceg.		Croatia		Macedonia		Montenegro		Slovenia		SR Serbia							
	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Serbia prop.		Kosovo		Vojvodina	
															Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Population Total	22,427,585	100	4,124,008	100	4,601,469	100	1,912,257	100	584,310	100	1,891,864	100	9,313,677	100	5,694,464	100	1,584,441	100	2,034,772	100
Albanians	1,730,878	7.7	4,394	0.1	6,806	0.1	377,726	9.8	38,735	6.5	1,985	0.1	1,303,032	14.0	72,484	1.3	1,226,736	77.4	3,812	0.2
Bulgarians	36,189	0.2	160	0.0	441	0.0	1,584	0.1	24	0.0	105	0.0	33,455	0.4	30,769	0.5	161	0.0	2,525	0.1
Czechs	19,624	0.1	689	0.0	15,061	0.3	164	0.0	52	0.0	433	0.0	3,225	0.0	1,170	0.0	43	0.0	2,012	0.1
Hungarians	426,867	1.9	945	0.0	25,439	0.6	281	0.0	238	0.0	9,496	0.5	390,468	4.2	4,965	0.1	147	0.0	385,356	18.9
Italians	15,132	0.1	616	0.0	11,661	0.3	96	0.0	45	0.0	2,187	0.1	527	0.0	358	0.0	23	0.0	146	0.0
Rumanians	54,955	0.2	302	0.0	609	0.0	98	0.0	159	0.0	94	0.0	53,693	0.6	6,387	0.1	17	0.0	47,289	2.3
Ruthenians	23,286	0.1	111	0.0	3,321	0.1	24	0.0	19	0.0	54	0.0	19,757	0.2	447	0.0	5	0.0	19,305	0.9
Slovaks	80,334	0.4	350	0.0	6,533	0.1	67	0.0	31	0.0	144	0.0	73,207	0.8	3,621	0.1	37	0.0	69,549	3.4
Turks	101,291	0.5	277	0.0	279	0.0	86,691	4.5	67	0.0	87	0.0	13,890	0.2	1,182	0.0	12,513	0.8	195	0.0
Ukrainians	12,813	0.1	4,502	0.1	2,515	0.1	68	0.0	18	0.0	192	0.0	5,520	0.1	512	0.0	7	0.0	5,001	0.2
Total nationalities	2,501,369	11.3	12,366	0.3	71,865	1.6	467,199	24.4	38,990	6.5	14,777	0.7	1,896,247	20.5	121,895	2.1	1,228,389	78.2	535,190	26.1
Romanies	168,197	0.8	7,251	0.2	3,858	0.1	43,223	2.3	1,471	0.3	1,433	0.1	110,959	1.0	57,140	1.0	34,126	2.2	19,693	1.0
Vlachs	32,071	0.1	49	0.0	16	0.0	6,392	0.3	1	0.0	17	0.0	25,596	0.3	25,535	0.4	4	0.0	57	0.0
Total ethnic groups	200,268	0.9	7,300	0.2	3,874	0.1	49,615	2.6	1,472	0.3	1,452	0.1	136,555	1.3	82,675	1.4	34,130	2.2	19,750	1.0
Yugoslav and others	1,219,024	5.4	326,280	7.9	379,057	8.2	14,240	0.7	31,243	5.3	26,263	1.4	441,941	4.7	272,050	4.8	2,676	0.2	167,215	8.2

the lowest numbers of members of "nationalities" and ethnic groups. Among the federal republics, Macedonia has the largest numbers. However, the regions with the most diverse national composition are two autonomous provinces: Kosovo, distinguished by the fact that one "nationality", namely Albanians, make up the majority of the province's population, and Vojvodina, which is the region where five of the ten "nationalities" are present in large numbers.

The very special situations present in Kosovo and Vojvodina can be better illustrated by the figures presented in Table 3 (see p. 62). This table show the distribution of "nationalities", ethnic groups, and "Yugoslavs" and "others" in the federal republics and autonomous provinces. As can be seen the majority of the members of five different "nationalities" (71 per cent of their total population in Yugoslavia) live in Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Table 3. Distribution of the Four National Categories in the Republics and Provinces

Nationality	SFRY		Bos. & Herceg		Croatia		Macedonia		Montenegro		Slovenia		SR Serbia							
	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Total	in %	Serbia prop. Total	Serbia prop. in %	Kosovo Total	Kosovo in %	Vojvodina Total	Vojvodina in %
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
TOTAL	22,427,585	100	4,124,008	18.4	4,601,469	20.6	1,912,257	8.6	584,310	2.6	1,891,864	8.4	9,313,677	41.5	5,694,464	25.4	1,584,441	7.1	2,034,772	9.1
Albanians	1,730,878	100	4,384	0.3	6,006	0.3	377,726	21.8	37,735	2.2	1,985	0.1	1,303,032	75.3	72,484	4.2	1,226,736	70.9	3,812	0.2
Bulgarians	36,189	100	180	0.5	441	1.2	1,984	5.4	24	0.1	105	0.3	33,455	92.4	30,769	84.0	161	0.4	2,525	6.9
Czechs	19,624	100	689	3.5	15,601	79.6	164	0.8	52	0.3	433	2.2	3,225	16.4	1,170	5.9	43	0.2	2,012	10.2
Hungarians	426,867	100	945	0.2	25,439	6.0	281	0.0	238	0.0	9,496	2.2	390,468	91.5	4,965	1.2	147	0.0	385,356	90.3
Italians	15,132	100	616	4.1	11,661	77.1	96	0.6	45	0.3	2,187	14.2	527	3.5	358	2.4	23	0.2	146	1.0
Rumanians	54,955	100	302	0.6	609	1.2	98	0.2	159	0.2	94	0.2	53,693	97.7	6,387	11.2	17	0.0	47,289	86.4
Ruthenians	23,286	100	111	0.5	3,321	14.2	24	0.1	19	0.1	54	0.2	19,757	84.9	447	1.9	5	0.2	19,305	82.8
Slovaks	80,334	100	350	0.4	6,533	8.1	67	0.1	33	0.0	144	0.2	73,207	91.1	3,621	4.5	37	0.0	69,549	86.6
Turks	101,291	100	277	0.3	279	0.3	86,691	85.6	67	0.0	87	0.1	13,850	13.7	1,182	1.1	12,513	12.4	195	0.2
Ukrainians	12,813	100	4,502	35.1	2,512	19.7	68	0.5	18	0.1	192	1.5	5,520	43.0	512	4.0	7	0.0	4,001	31.0
Romanies	168,197	100	7,251	4.3	3,858	2.3	43,223	25.6	1,471	0.9	1,435	0.9	100,959	66.0	57,140	34.0	34,126	20.3	19,693	11.7
Vlachs	32,071	100	49	0.2	16	0.1	6,392	20.0	1	0.0	17	0.1	25,596	79.8	25,535	79.6	4	0.0	57	0.2
Yugoslavs, & others	1,219,024	100	326,280	26.8	379,057	31.2	14,240	1.2	31,243	2.6	26,263	2.2	441,941	36.3	272,050	22.3	2,070	0.2	167,215	13.7

A p p e n d i x 2. Questionnaire

I. Main Problems

1. As a federal and culturally divergent country, Yugoslavia faces a great number of barriers on its way to integrating the whole population into one society.

   How does (adult) education contribute to surmounting these barriers?

2. In Yugoslav educational policy priority is given to protect the rights of each of the nation and "nationalities" to use their own language, to diversify school curricula and to adapt them to local history and local needs. Education, however, is also a factor of cultural, social and political integration of the society.

   If the last sentence is right and accepted by the school administration, how - in practice - is it implemented and how does it function?

3. (a) What role does (adult) education play and what role should it play in Yugoslav multi-cultural society?

   (b) Is (adult) education used as a tool to weaken centrifugal forces?

   If YES -- HOW? If NO -- WHY?

4. The phenomenon of multi-culturism of Yugoslav society, the heterogenity of life patterns and uneven level of economic development leads to an impression that "almost everything" in Yugoslavia divides. If so, what are those factors of social life which integrate?

5. Regionalization of school curricula undoubtly contributes to the proclaimed policy towards protecting equal rights of Yugoslav

nations and "nationalities". It might, however, have a contradictory effect: a hero of one nation may be an opressor of another.

How is this problem solved in school curricula and syllabuses?

How is this problem perceived by LEAs officials?

II. Additional Problems

1. In interviews and articles some officials treat the term "integration" synonimously with "unitarianism"?

   WHY?

2. A request to comment on the problem of the national identity and WHY it is opposed to statehood identity?

3. Who are these individuals who declare themselves to be "Yugoslavs" and/or "nationally indeterminate"?

   How can you explain their rapid growth:

   1971 census -- 4.6 per cent
   1981 census -- 8.9 per cent

4. What are the policies of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and the Trade Union Confederation towards building a statehood identity that includes all nations and "nationalities"?

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